THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Fight Against Castro

The Editors

Ward-Healers of the AMA

Gilbert A. Harrison

Stirrings on the Campus

Peter Schrag

Goldwater and Hoffa

Shaw Livermore

April 17, 1961, 25 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARY
BURLINGTON VT
12-61 H21402 ARB-IB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. from Washington

Lowered Sights

★ You and I know it, but how do we get the rest of the nation to know it? The US is fighting the Cold War with one hand tied behind its back because it can't mobilize idle men and idle factories into full speed production. Kennedy made this the big domestic issue of the campaign. What's happened?

Kennedy won the election by the narrowest squeak in history. 112,801 votes out of 68,883,341. Every fight in Congress since has emphasized his precarious position (and now Congress is back again). He has been trying to translate personal popularity into votes for his bills. He has had some success, but simultaneously he has been lowering his sights; there has been a deterioration of objectives. We believe the sense of urgency is less today than a month ago.

In the campaign Kennedy asked for a 5 percent growth rate (2½ percent under Eisenhower); now Kennedy supporters put 3½ percent as their "intermediate" goal. Kennedy proposed lowering unemployment to 3 percent (6.9 percent at present), now his advisers rather apologetically will settle for 4 percent. Even more ominous, the recommendations Kennedy is sending to Congress won't really do the trick; the money for distressed areas isn't enough to cure distressed areas, the package as a whole won't put the economy full speed ahead nor cure unemployment.

Let's just analyze unemployment again. The figures are Secretary Goldberg's. They cover this one calendar year, 1961. By year end additional jobs must be found for 1.3 million because of population increase, for another 1.8 million because of inexorable automation. There are idle 5.5 million now and the equivalent of an additional 1.9 million if the total of part-time workers is translated into equivalent full-time jobs. Let's see, that's 10.5 million jobs. Nobody believes unemployment can be ended altogether, but just to reach the 4 percent goal by Dec. 30, 1961, 7.3 million *new* jobs must be created.

To do this, Goldberg says, gross national product must be increased by $60 billions ($500 billions now). This would mean a 10 percent jump in growth in 1961, something that has happened once or twice in wartime but never in peace and never without inflation. It won't be done at the present rate. And yet all the time our enemy Soviet Russia is looking for workers, not jobs, and is pushing production faster than ours (some say twice as fast) and virtually every big industrial democracy is ahead of our growth rate, too. Just last week Kennedy's top economic adviser, Walter Heller, said here that the US could and should be turning out $50 billion more products a year than we are. Just put idle men and part-time factories together and you'd do it, he said.

You and I know these figures. They have been bandied about by Kennedy in the campaign and by his advisers since. Faster growth would buy schools, roads, urban renewal and Treasury surpluses. But is this message getting over to the public? We doubt it. On the contrary after eight years of tranquilizers the public is again hearing the happy news that the recession has touched bottom (*i.e.*, things are getting worse slower). This is probably true but doesn't affect the chronic complaint; it's like a man with anemia rejoicing that he's recovering from hives.

We don't see how the United States can win the cold war with a hand tied behind its back. Almost every lobby in Washington, however, will resist untying that hand by Federal means. "Let things alone," they cry, "maybe people are unemployed but look at the stock market!" Is there anybody who can make the public understand? We only know of one, and he's already overburdened with Laos and Adenauer and a sluggish Congress. But he's the only one.

Charlie and Ev

★ Standing there in the dignified old Supreme Court chamber in the Capitol behind the row of microphones Dirksen and Halleck put on their weekly "Charlie & Ev" filmed show for TV. They enjoy it; reporters enjoy it. Interlocutor Charlie says GOP leaders will visit Ike at Gettysburg, May 1, and "will shoot a little golf." "What did you say?" demands endman Ev, feigning surprise. "Yes," says Charlie drolly, "didn't you know? – Kennedy plays golf, too – everybody can do it now!"

Turning serious, Dirksen warns that including Communists in a proposed coalition government in Laos will cause retaliation when the foreign aid bill comes up. Laos, you see, has received a lot of foreign aid; if the end result is to be a part-Communist coalition then, he declares ominously, "we should take a long, long look" at all foreign aid.

It is part of a GOP leadership pattern. They are uniting patriotically behind Kennedy in the foreign crisis. But wait till he gets a settlement; then they will squeeze all the political advantage they can out of any concessions.

It will be rather fun to have Nixon break his political silence as he plans to do in Chicago, May 5. Nixon may feel that he should assert himself before the new "Mr. Republican" – Senator Goldwater – grabs the leadership. Nixon probably will go into Texas to help GOP conservative Senatorial candidate Tower against ultra-conservative Democratic candidate Blakley. Blakley is a rich, racist dim-wit. If we lived in Texas we should vote Republican.

Notes

★ For 50 cents the National Council of Churches (475 Riverside Drive, NY 27) will send you a 15,000 word report, "Some Facts and Some Comments," answering the House Un-American Activities Committee propaganda film, *Operation Abolition*.

Population explosion note: A new UN study shows the world currently adding 45 to 55 million people a year – about the size of France.

An excellent election analysis by the GOP research staff here reveals that the 1960 Republican vote declined as much in *suburbs* as in big cities; hitherto "bedroom suburbs" were considered the domain of young conservatives on the way up. The report gives no reason but of course GOP Congressmen normally vote against anything to aid cities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 144 Number 16 Issue 2423 April 17, 1961*
Published weekly (except for omissions of four summer issues) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Phone: FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 25c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1961, by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.* *Item g. Second class Imprint, reading Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C.*

The Fight Against Castro

THE WEEK

3. The Fight Against Castro; Bogging Down in Laos

ARTICLES

6. After Algerian Independence by Jean Daniel

7. Goldwater and the Union Boss by Shaw Livermore

9. Stirrings on the Campus by Peter Schrag

12. The Superficial Aspect by Gerald W. Johnson

13. Ward-Healers at the AMA by Gilbert A. Harrison

DEPARTMENTS

17. Books 19. Movies 20. Theater
22. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor & Publisher
Helen Fuller, Managing Editor
Selig S. Harrison, Associate Editor
Robert Evett, Books & the Arts Editor
F. R. Ruskin, Assistant to the Publisher

Contributing Editors:
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann Helen Hill Miller, Michael Straight

The United States is deeply involved in the maneuvers to overthrow the regime of Fidel Castro; how deeply and how irretrievably we do not know. That the regime *can* be overturned by the combined force of the US and of disaffected Cubans seems certain; the cost of that victory in lives and US prestige is not. Whether the Cubans who are impatient to join the battle *should* be encouraged to strike now is a question that needs prayerful consideration. Some say that so firm a commitment has already been made to the anti-Castro underground that no retreat or delay is possible, that we have passed the point of no return. If that is so, pressures from the exiles for decisive action will mount, and at some point soon the US will be called upon to honor that commitment to the full. And thereafter, it will be called upon to explain its complicity in any uprisings that occur.

It would be wise, therefore, to face from the start some of the moral ambiguities and practical hazards of our participation in a new civil war in Cuba. What, for example, of our OAS pledge to support "the principle of non-intervention by any American state in the internal or external affairs of the other American states"? We could not expect many people to discern any difference in principle between a Soviet airlift of weapons to the Pathet Lao rebels in Laos and US airdrops to anti-Castro forces inside Cuba. That is one consideration.

It must be admitted also that although the dedication of the Kennedy Administration to democracy and social progress in the Americas is genuine, it is of recent origin; few are prepared to believe that our concern for Cuba is animated just by a passion for freedom. Past memories are not erased in a few months. It is remembered that our government has supplied arms not to overthrow but to buttress dictators in Latin America (including Batista), and still does. Such aid has not been conditioned on fidelity to freedom, but on professions of anti-Communism. Even today, the libertarian declarations of the new Administration probably do not mean we intend to abet revolutionists who wish to overthrow Trujillo in the Dominican Republic; some of Trujillo's best friends are US Senators; it wouldn't do.

If, then, the US were to be called to account for encouraging a full-scale uprising against Castro (as it would be by Latin American countries, by the Communists, by the United Nations and by our own consciences), how might we reply? If the government is frank, it could reply that we will not tolerate, because we need not tolerate, a Communist regime 90 miles from our continental shores. (And if the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPRING BOOK REVIEW

Next week, essays, poems and reviews by Jacques Barzun, Alexander Bickel, Asher Brynes Donald Cook, Frank Getlein, Van R. Halsey, Jr., Gerald W. Johnson, Herman Kahn and others

Communist Chinese wish to say the same about the islands off their continental shores, let them.) We could reply that to give arms to Cubans who are willing to fight for their freedom is not to do what the Soviet Union did in Hungary; for there the Russians were aiding the oppressors of the people, while we would be aiding their liberators. But what could not be said?

The government of the United States would be unable persuasively to claim that it was not responsible – the press of the world has robbed that pretense of any plausibility; nor would it be able to say that the Cuban controversy is outside the UN's jurisdiction – preserving peace *is* the UN's mission; it would not be able honestly to plead that the security of the US is threatened by the Castro regime – for who will believe that a flea's existence endangers the elephant; it will find no moral sanctuary in denouncing Castro as a dictator – for the world knows that we could and would put up with him if he were an amenable dictator; and finally we cannot make too much of Castro's reliance on Russian and Chinese markets and manufactured goods – for he would like very much to sell sugar to the US in return for American tractors and automobile parts, but is kept from doing so by an Eisenhower-imposed embargo that has been continued.

Well then, it may be asked, why not come to terms with Castro? Unfortunately, that option was never open to this Administration. By the time John Kennedy had been sworn in as President, the movement in Cuba that had been conceived as a revolt against feudalism and tyranny was going sour. It had become the declared enemy of not merely Big Brother in the north, but of democratic regimes throughout the hemisphere. In the words of the State Department's White Paper issued on April 13, "Never in history has any revolution so rapidly devoured its children. The roster of Castro's victims is the litany of the Cuban revolution." In the first few months after Batista's exit, as the White Paper acknowledges, the regime did institute many impressive and needed reforms – schools, medical clinics, new housing, projects for land reform, the opening up of beaches and resorts to the people, the elimination of graft in government. The evil came later. Castro's promise of freedom of information, of an end to the tyranny of the secret police, of academic freedom – all came to nothing. The only political party free to operate today is the Communist Party; no general elections have been held; none has been scheduled. Castro has not developed his 26th of July movement into a disciplined party and thus has denied himself the freedom to create a truly neutralist Cuba – even if he had wanted to. The first prime minister under Castro, the first president of Castro's revolutionary government, and the once pro-Castro Secretary-General of the Cuban Trade Union Federation are outside Cuba or in jail. Two-thirds of the faculty of the University of Havana are in exile. Independent labor unions have been smashed. Peasants who had been promised land have been forced into communes. One left-wing exile leader said privately last week that in his opinion 80 percent of the Cubans who had fought Batista and supported Castro's 26th of July movement are disenchanted and ready for a change.

These are the Cuban realities. But they do not tell us what the US Government should do, what tactics and timing would best serve our national interests and those of the Cuban people.

One answer was given on April 8 by the Cuban Revolutionary Council, which met in New York and issued a call to arms. The Council is composed of spokesmen for all the anti-Batista elements that now wish to fight Castro. In their words: "We were revolutionists and fought against the previous regime, which had impoverished the whole country for the benefit of a minority lusting for gold and power. It is with the same convictions that we now oppose the present regime, which has betrayed our country and plunged it into chaos." They promise that they will not, if successful, go back "to a past which we all oppose – neither Communism nor reaction." Throughout is their unstated belief that if full-scale resistance is long delayed, the opportunity to recapture the revolution may be lost: for the people in Cuba, exasperated as they may be, must have tangible evidence that an alternative to Castro is possible. Otherwise, the exiles say, the will to resist will collapse.

This latter point is a powerful argument for immediately giving all possible help to the disaffected in their war against the regime. For although they hope that the Cuban countryside would be with them, and that Castro could not survive a combination of blows within the country and landings by Cubans from abroad, US troops ultimately might be needed. Not to recognize this is to be more than unrealistic; it is to mislead heroic, democratically-minded Cubans who are willing to put *their* lives into the battle.

But more than a willingness to commit US arms and possibly troops would be required. No insurrection could hope to rally the Cuban people if it is tagged as an operation made in and controlled by the United States – or if there is any suspicion that the fight against Castro is merely a prelude to the restoration to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power of the well-to-do. (How much enthusiasm in Cuba will be generated, one wonders, by the exiles' assuring "those who have been unjustly dispossessed that all of their assets will be returned"?) To succeed, a rebellion would have to be carried out in the name of and under the control of Cubans who not only fought Batista, but who have fought the right wing in their own country. Only they can command the support of the masses without whom nothing enduring is conceivable. Whether this point of view has been accepted by the US Government, or even by the dominant forces in the Cuban Revolutionary Council is a matter of dispute. And until the dispute is resolved, Castro's appeal to the masses will be formidable.

Assuming that dispute is resolved, the prudential question still remains: Is now the time and is a US-financed and armed rebellion the best way to deal with Castro? Is there no alternative which promises greater dividends and fewer losses?

In our judgment, the identification of the US Government at this point with an insurrection in Cuba would do more harm than good. As was noted at the beginning, timing and tactics are supremely important. In the past few months, hopes have been kindled that in the Kennedy era, the US will intelligently lend its support to social reform and democratic growth in Latin America, that a true partnership in progress is in the making. However, time is needed to develop the Administration's new approach to Latin America, to construct an alliance that is more than façade. Time is needed to convince Latin Americans that this Administration means what it says when it talks of solidarity among all the democratically-disposed.

It is not Castro's Cuba by itself which seriously threatens the security of the Americas. It is the possibility that Castroism might infect wider areas. Our problem is how to help immunize the continent against this infection. And to do this will take time, restraint and the consolidation of anti-Castro sentiment.

A good beginning has been made. In its program for economic aid, in its emphasis on social reform and the strengthening of democratic institutions, the Kennedy Administration is off to a splendid start. The appointments that have been made or will be made to Latin American posts have been bold and in line with progressive aims: Ben Stephansky to Bolivia, Teodoro Moscoso to Venezuela, Tom Mann to Mexico, James Loeb to Peru, Robert Woodward to Chile, John M. Cabot to Brazil, Arturo Carrion Morales as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs and Adolf Berle, Lincoln Gordon and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., as Presidential advisers on Latin America. But we are far from having even laid the foundation for a new, more durable relationship with a variety of progressive forces in the Americas. And it is they who are our hope and they who would be among the most dismayed by any venture reminiscent of "sending in the Marines."

The military containment of Castroism is not difficult. The forays of Castro supporters in El Salvador got nowhere, nor did the attacks by *Fidelistas* in Guatemala, nor the efforts to land troops in Panama. And those who attempted to infiltrate the Dominican Republic were slaughtered. The ideological defeat of Castroism everywhere is, however, far more complicated and important and it will not be made easier by US involvement now in war against Castro.

Bogging Down in Laos

The news that "torrential rains" have begun to fall in parts of Laos is about the only good cheer to report. The Russians are obviously stalling in their response to the British cease-fire proposal – hoping to extend Pathet Lao military beachheads in advance of the projected 14-nation peace conference.

What the President and Prime Minister Macmillan had in mind at Key West was Russian pressure for a Pathet Lao cease-fire, which would then be subject to some form of international verification, presumably by a reactivation of the three-member International Commission for Supervision and Control (India, Canada and Poland) set up by the 1954 Geneva Conference. But the

The Slapstick Boys in the Emergency Room

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Soviet reply specified that "the interested parties in Laos must, of course, hold talks on questions connected with the cease-fire." And on April 10, the Soviet press gave a hint of what Moscow had in mind. It played up a statement by Kong Le, the paratroop captain who led an abortive coup in Vientiane last summer and then joined forces with the Pathet Lao; Kong Le insisted that "only the lawful Laotian government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma has a right to call a conference of parties concerned on a cease-fire."

Unless the US and Britain are prepared to risk continuing attrition of the non-Communist military position, and consequently to confront the possible necessity for US or SEATO military intervention, they may well have to fall back on a new, face-saving strategy: calling on the International Control Commission to assume the responsibility not merely for after-the-fact inspection of a cease-fire, but for actually bringing one about by staging negotiations between the contending Laotian factions. The only hope that this may be avoided lies in Prince Souvanna Phouma's last-minute acceptance of a US invitation (first extended to him by Averell Harriman in New Delhi nearly two weeks ago) to visit Washington for official conversations scheduled to start on April 18. Should he be persuaded that US officials share his ideas concerning the makeup of the "government of national unity" which is to be discussed at the 14-nation conference, then he may well persuade the Soviet Union, in turn, to stop its airdrops of supplies to the Pathet Lao, and a cease-fire may prove possible short of ICSC prompting.

If enough of a monsoon downpour comes soon enough, the US might be able to hold fast, but the President can hardly gamble on meteorological forecasts. The first step is for Britain and the Soviet Union, as co-chairmen of the Geneva Conference, to call on the three member governments to reconstitute the Commission. Then one can only hope for an early start to cease-fire negotiations, while there is still something substantial left for the non-Communist Laotian bargainers – Souvanna Phouma and the Boun Oum regime – to negotiate about.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE NATIONALISTS AND DE GAULLE

After Algerian Independence

Paris

Why does peace in Algeria suddenly appear so essential to so many peoples who are, in theory, uninvolved in the North African conflict? It is true that the terrestrial globe has been shrinking; and that never throughout history has mankind been so aware of the fragility of geographical barriers and of the profound interdependence which links all nations. No doubt, moreover, in this atomic age in which everyone has the feeling that there simply cannot be any more great wars, local conflicts may offer our insatiable appetite for adventure a spectacular form of nourishment. The fact is, however, that it is only now, after six long years, that the public is realizing that events have occurred in Algeria – and in Cuba as well – which have been and are the acid tests of the West and its conceptions of the world.

In effect, without this long war in Algeria, the entire process of decolonization and emancipation of a large part of the underdeveloped world would have been completely different. Little by little, the Algerian insurgents became in Africa (and outside of Africa) symbols of martyrdom and their struggle jeopardized every enterprise to which the Western nations put their hand. This was very clearly understood by President Kennedy in the famous speech he gave on Algerian independence when he was still a Senator. All the African nations which tended to go along with the concept of gradual evolution toward liberation, which did not wish to break with the West, all of these were led by the events in Algeria either toward a break with or disengagement from the West. Last October, at the United Nations, the public heard Mr. Nehru speaking of Algeria as if it were his own country; the Burmese representative, U Nu, declared that neutral Afro-Asians would lean more and more toward an alliance with the Soviet and Chinese East, so long as the Algerian conflict continued – a conflict in which France appeared to be enjoying the support of the entire Atlantic bloc. When the US break with Cuba came, on top of the Algerian situation, it was definitely concluded in Africa that the anti-colonial appearance of the United States was only a mask; that, from Algeria to Havana, the moment had arrived for Soviet penetration of the two most strategic regions of the West: the Mediterranean and the territorial waters of America.

Even today, like Sekou Toure and Fidel Castro, the provisional government of the Algerian Republic in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Exile and its president, Ferhat Abbas, declare themselves to be "the most progressive wing of the underdeveloped world." What does this mean? Certainly not that the government of the insurgents is Communist. It means, first of all, that in time of war, this government will accept any and all alliances which will enable it to win and that, for the moment, the alliances which have been the most effective are those with the East. It also means that in peacetime, the Algerians of tomorrow expect to carry out a social revolution which will find it difficult to accommodate itself to the customary demands of capitalist aid. Contrariwise, insofar as integration into one or the other camp is concerned, the way remains wide open. It will depend on what contribution to the peace is made by one or the other camp; it will also depend, after that, on the type of aid which the West and, in particular, France expects to grant to the future independent nation of Algeria.

The reforms proposed by the Kennedy Administration in the field of economic aid to underdeveloped countries are, of course, great steps forward. "Africa for the Africans" is an excellent slogan, and one which Mennen Williams was able to develop skillfully during his recent African tour. But the basic task remains yet to be undertaken, nay even to be conceived: it is to work out a form of foreign aid which will permit organized planning by the poorer countries. And this means the West's resigning itself to the viewpoint that economic liberalism is not exportable, however important it is in the American way of life. For us in the West, the most salutary revolution that could take place would be one of lending aid to other nations, not in order to make them over in our image, but to enable them to solve their own problems.

In view of all this, what are the chances of peace in Algeria? On the positive side, there is the simple fact that negotiation *is* about to take place – something which even a few months ago would have seemed inconceivable. Both the French and the Algerians appear to have at last deeply understood that they are condemned to cooperation, and that the conflict simply could not end by the destruction of one or the other, nor even by a complete break between them. General de Gaulle has made up his mind to proceed toward total decolonization; he has repeated this on several occasions, and almost no one has any doubts on this score. During this period of on-and-off negotiations, the important factor is the procedure to be adopted.

The first consideration in such a procedure is that it shall lead to a cease-fire. The Algerians do not want a truce or an armistice until a political agreement has been reached and guarantees set up as to the role which the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic will play during the period of provisional administration. However, such a political agreement implies a great many weeks of talks, and the French reject the idea of negotiating so long as fighting is going on in Algeria. This is the first and the greatest difficulty facing the negotiations. The outcome of this contest, in which the position of the West in the Mediterranean and in Africa is at stake, depends on the compromise which may or may not be arrived at in order to get out of this impasse. It is for this reason that the first days of the negotiations may be decisive. No one can make any predictions until the results of these opening debates are known.

Jean Daniel

Goldwater and the Union Boss

No theme appears more often in the plaints of young admirers of Barry Goldwater than the power of "racketeering labor bosses" – like James Hoffa. Forgotten it seems is that remarkable public conversation between the Senator and the boss less than four years ago which ended with Goldwater assuring Hoffa: ". . . For the good of the labor movement I am very hopeful that your philosophy prevails." Since in union matters Senator Goldwater makes far more careful distinctions than most of his supporters, the record of that meeting is worth recalling.

They first confronted each other publicly on a hot Washington morning in August, 1957, when Hoffa made his opening appearance before the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field. Hoffa had been called to testify about certain untidy details of his stewardship, but Goldwater, a member of the Committee, wanted to query Hoffa on a more general level. Two things became immediately clear. First, Hoffa did not recognize the Senator from Arizona; and second, the latter had no intention of launching a full-scale attack upon Hoffa and the Teamsters.

Mr. Hoffa: I have here, and I am not going to take time to read it, but I will leave a copy with you with your permission, a letter of July 18, from a group of employers in your state who have banded together deliberately for the purpose of destroying the Teamsters' organization and refusing to live up to – (The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

witness conferred with his counsel.)
Senator Goldwater: Are you sure that is my state, Arizona?
Mr. Hoffa: Excuse me, sir, I thought you were Senator Curtis.
Senator Goldwater: You compliment me.
Mr. Hoffa: Excuse me, sir.
Senator Goldwater: I can assure you that the relationship in my state between the Teamsters and employers is a very pleasant one. I couldn't believe that any group of employers in Arizona could try to destroy your union, as far as that goes, any union.

What Senator Goldwater wanted to learn was Hoffa's general feelings about big unions and their relation to government. Earlier in the year Hoffa had said that he intended to form an over-all transportation union, which would include among others, truckers, airline personnel and longshoremen. Goldwater wanted to know whether Hoffa thought the government should make new antitrust laws to prevent such combinations.

As politely as he could Hoffa disagreed with the Senator and insisted that such a large union might be necessary to preserve the economic rights of workers. "There is certainly a difference," Hoffa countered, "between human beings working for a living, trying to use their best coordinated efforts to gain whatever they are rightfully entitled to, than there is a combination of industrialists getting together for the sole purpose of controlling prices and trying to make a large profit."

Goldwater was not persuaded. Would it not be true that one man heading such a great union might be a danger to the country? Might not he be able to "incite these members into doing pretty much what he wants to do?" Hoffa stuck doggedly to his defense until Goldwater finally made clear what was really at issue. Apparently, the Teamster leader had all along thought Goldwater was principally worried about the economic effects of a transportation union, that is, the power such a unit would have at the bargaining table. This was not the case.

Senator Goldwater: Now, whether or not you or any other labor leader ever used that monopoly to the disadvantage of the country would be up to you. If you use that monopoly at the bargaining table, that is one thing. But to use it to advance a political theory or an economic theory is entirely another thing. I think that actually talking about it now, extending this kind of conversation to include all labor leaders, and government, we possibly can come up with the answer in the form of legislation that will prevent the things happening that you do not want to have happen and that I do not want to have happen. We both recognize that it can happen.

The slight edginess that had so far marked their colloquy vanished at once. It became simply a matter now of making plain to others that Barry Goldwater and James Hoffa knew who *their* common enemy was.

The rest of the conversation took on a certain charm. Hoffa began decorously by saying that when "you separate the political from the economic you and I could have a different discussion." Labor leaders had no business trying to influence politics. Picking up his cue, Goldwater reminded his new friend that there were labor leaders in the country, leaders who were not friendly to Mr. Hoffa, who did not think like that. Could not Mr. Hoffa see the dangers if such men took over the transportation unions?

Mr. Hoffa: Maybe better than you can, Senator.
Senator Goldwater: I am . . . glad to hear you say that.

In case anyone was still mystified, Hoffa then went on to describe at length the desperate lengths to which some labor leaders would go in order to extend their influence in the labor movement for the ultimate purpose of intervening in political elections. Hoffa wished it known that he did not relish the prospect of anyone calling him into a room and telling him what candidate he should support.

Senator Goldwater then brought the exercise to an end by making allusion to what everyone in the room by now must have appreciated. The phrase "some labor leaders" meant UAW president Walter Reuther.

Senator Goldwater: Well, Mr. Hoffa, just to wind this up, I think we both recognize that in the writing in the clouds today there is an individual who would like to see that happen in this country. I do not like to ever suggest to let you and him fight, but for the good of the labor movement I am very hopeful that your philosophy prevails.
Mr. Hoffa: I assure you that the American people will accept my philosophy and not the one of the other.

Only one Senator, Pat McNamara of Michigan, commented upon these honeyed words. Because he believed a "straw man" had been introduced, McNamara was somewhat tart when he said to Hoffa: "I do not care whether you and Senator Goldwater agree or not." This protest reflected more resignation than surprise.

Soon Robert Kennedy, Committee chief counsel, succeeded in bringing Hoffa around to other matters.

Mr. Kennedy: I hate to take you back from being a labor union leader to a businessman –
Mr. Hoffa: Go right back. Don't worry about it.

Kennedy then resumed his series of sticky questions about some curious business ventures into which Hoffa's wife, using her maiden name, had entered.

SHAW LIVERMORE

MR. LIVERMORE *is Assistant Professor of History at Princeton University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stirrings on the Campus

by Peter Schrag

In the spring of 1960, after a decade of reputed silence, American college students made headlines – sit-ins at Southern lunch counters, pickets in Washington and riots against the House Un-American Activities Committee in San Francisco. At Harvard and Yale, at Michigan and California, at small Negro colleges in the South and at prestigious institutions in New England, student leaders and teachers began to say that the undergraduate withdrawal of the fifties was at an end. Even *Mademoiselle*, which usually catches trends by the tail, wondered "Is Apathy on the Way Out?" Something was going on, but what?

During the fifties, a Princeton professor had called college undergraduates the "silent generation." Fred Hechinger, education editor of the *New York Times*, proposed the word "privatism." Professors labeled their students "conformists" – more serious, more diligent, but less "interesting." William H. Whyte, Jr. and others pictured college as a training camp for the organization man. The younger men "do not wish to protest, they wish to collaborate," he wrote. They were not entrepreneurs; they sought to run with the organization and receive its secure protection. The campus then seemed to have little concern with national and international issues. "What can I write about," a student newspaper editor said in 1957. "McCarthyism is dead and everyone agrees on integration." Disarmament, nuclear testing, foreign aid were discussed as abstractions, if at all: they were problems that had to be solved by the people in Washington and Geneva and Moscow. At one college a student described most of his fellows as "automatics"; they had surmounted one hurdle – getting in – and had but to surmount one more – graduation – before they could enter the Valhalla of high wages, country clubs and split-level suburbs. Once Korea was out of the way there was little to disturb life on the average campus.

To put the situation of 1961 into perspective, however, one has to go back not five years but 40, to the twenties when some young Americans felt intensely about flagpole sitting, marathon dances, Babe Ruth and Lindy, about the boobs and the bigots and about poetry. Then, it was alleged, life was not a dream; the dream was *life;* the glitter could be grasped; the hero of F. Scott Fitzgerald's story, *Winter Dreams*, was persuaded that he "wanted not association with glittering things and glittering people – he wanted the glittering things themselves." The twenties were said to shimmer with soft girls just this side of a Freudian emancipation, football heroes who *were* heroes simply because they seemed to be gentlemen, and silvery moments on a thousand country club porches.

What has lingered of this myth has been commercialized and corrupted – proof that it has staying power. The cigarette ads still portray what never was – now in four colors – and *Life* continues to go to parties in Midwestern sorority houses to reconfirm the impression that the world isn't *really* up to anything too serious. The film *Where the Boys Are* treats collegiate vacation foibles at Fort Lauderdale like good young fun to reassure us that everything is as we imagined.

After World War II, there were attempts to imitate the old, fancied ways. Some students played at being Hemingway, they went to Paris, ran with the bulls at Pamplona, looked over the crowds at Cap d'Antibes. But Paris had become very expensive and hostile, bull fights were butchery, and on the Riviera there was no Dick Diver – only the US Navy, the well-to-do, and plump princes married to American movie stars.

Whoopee was as passé as the double-breasted suit at Princeton. Most of the moral veterans of World War II had less romantic tastes. They had returned from a big killing, or a big bore, and they wanted to be left alone, to wear fatigues and levis. The grey flannels were for the kids. Their rhetoric was the GI Bill and their "winter dream" was the Veterans Village, a baby sitter and a movie, and completing a thesis.

And so, for a time, students withdrew to that private world about which so much has been written, simply because the rest of the world was far too public. It was plastered with signs warning "Danger – Radiation" and "Big Brother Is Watching You." In contrast to these realities, the nonsense of the fraternity initiation, the football rally and the campus agitation society seemed small stuff indeed.

Moreover, those students of the fifties who might have been disposed toward involvement in political or social concerns were not sure what ought or could be done. Even Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., confessed that liberals had a hard time deciding where they stood. The few undergraduate reform movements were directed, therefore, towards targets on the campus – fraternities, athletics and social behavior in general. Hi-jinks were out; the people who had tried to reform the world in the thirties were confessing failure, and the atom bomb

PETER SCHRAG, *assistant secretary at Amherst College, teaches part time in the American Studies Course.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lingered in the background with a morality all its own. So for most undergraduates college seemed relevant to just one thing: preparing for a good solid career in a big corporation. The recruiters swarmed to the campus every spring and the salaries they offered got bigger each time they came.

The more perceptive writers now declare that "privatism" is at an end and that, in the words of one student journalist, "involvementism" is the wave of the present, possibly of the future. There are still crowds at college week in Bermuda and Florida, but no one except *Life* takes much notice. Even these crowds have changed; they are composed of pretenders, of young men and women who are doing the thing they have been told people once used to do. And for every vacationer in Bermuda, there are 10 working in some library on a term paper or a dissertation.

Suddenly, in the sixties, there are marches, petitions, Peace Corps volunteers for Africa, picketers and endless student alphabet organizations: EPIC, SLATE, SRE. They raise bail money for students arrested in sit-ins; at the University of Massachusetts they vote to tax themselves to finance chairs for outstanding teachers; in Washington, D. C., they parade up and down before the White House to complain against "token integration" and in California they cleverly sabotage the card arrangements of a cheering section at a bowl game to demonstrate the superiority of mind over organized inanity.

For them Rome means the School of Classical Studies; they travel on Fulbrights or with the Experiment in International Living. A Friends Work Camp is more real than a Paris cafe. Even the beatniks feel the need to be more than *pour l'art;* one of their defenders recently insisted that their real merit lies in their *social* awareness.

Practical and Limited

But the causes are intensely practical and limited. Today's undergraduate activists (always the yeast, never the loaf) know that the world won't be rebuilt in a generation. Yet one can picket the five and ten (or even the White House); one can protest investigations; one can even go to Africa and teach the natives arithmetic or English or how to dig a sanitation ditch. Whatever is felt intensely in the sixties may turn out to be more social than literary; Accra and Lagos and Leopoldville may become the meccas of the new expatriates, and Memphis and New Orleans will symbolize integration and jail rather than jazz.

When John Kennedy said "What good are ideas unless you make use of them?" he was speaking for a lot of college students and when he announced the Peace Corps the response was automatic *because it made the life of the college student immediately relevant to the problems of the world,* and not merely a symbol of a "good deal" called education.

When the House Committee on Un-American Activities was picketed in San Francisco in 1960, the Committee produced a motion picture of the ensuing riot called *Operation Abolition* which purports to show the connection between "hard core Communists" and student "Communist dupes." If the connection was made, then undergraduates are involved at the heart of what is known as the Communist conspiracy. If the connection was not made, then students are the victims of political demagoguery. In either case, they have been made "political." The reaction of student audiences who have seen the film is anything but apathetic.

Those students who are active in political or social causes are and will probably remain a minority. The movements of the past year may be passing fancies. Still, some students are awake and the essence of their "involvementism" is probably *not* the new conservatism some publications claim it is.

Mort Sahl quipped that a conservative is one who believes that nothing should be done for the first time. That applies to the campus. The Goldwater groups, the fans of Ayn Rand did not appear until liberal organizations had been started. The students who are defending the House Un-American Activities Committee did not make a move until others had petitioned for its abolition. In each case the "conservatives" were *responding* to the liberals. The new Harvard publication, *Advance,* cited by *Time* as an example of reborn conservatism, is a liberal Republican journal (Case-Rockefeller) replacing a defunct publication of more right-wing stripe. In the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* of February, 1961, an undergraduate wrote: "If one were forced to categorize, the obvious conclusion based on the evidence of the past two years would be the exact opposite of the conclusions reached by *Time.* There has been a marked liberal revival here. Emerging spontaneously during this period have been student groups to fight the loyalty oath provision of the National Defense Education Act, to support Southern Negro sit-in demonstrators, to urge nuclear disarmament, and to facilitate the establishment of a national peace corps. While the distinction between, and legitimate definition of, the words 'liberal' and 'conservative' are somewhat in dispute these days, it can fairly be said that the above-mentioned positions are those taken by prominent liberals, in the common American definition of the term. It is these groups which have captured the imagination of the activist elements here. They have signed petitions, picketed, written letters to Congressmen, visited State Department officials, held mass demonstrations, sponsored lectures and seminars, and kept themselves on the front pages with almost monotonous regularity in recent months."

Middle-aged deans may reminisce about the old

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

riots at Nassau, about the time when some Harkness Hall, some Eliot House was the scene of the greatest stunt ever organized. But on the rare occasion when a reminiscing dean attempts to resurrect those good old days, he is usually thrown out on the ground that the new version of the prank is anti-social or dangerous and – above all – not very funny.

The Professors' Example

Yet the deans and the professors have had their influence. They became tired of the "privatism" of the fifties and began militating quietly against it. They themselves became involved in the American Civil Liberties Union or SANE or the preparation of the Gaither Report or the design of missiles. Today, professors appear on television programs; as makers of public pronouncements they now hold a place reserved to clerics in the 19th Century and to businessmen before 1930. They control the nation's most desired commodity: the degree. They appear in Washington and as consultants to corporations. The nasty little songs about the Ivy schools are now absurd because these days you're singing about the President of the United States (and this is nothing new), and about half the Cabinet and nearly all their higher subordinates.

The rise to prominence of the professor is not academic heaven come to earth; no one really understands what many of the eggheads (an obsolete term) are doing; we just know that they control something the country apparently needs. We may have no clear idea of what distinguishes education from training, but we know that co-eds on moonlit nights are being pushed aside by College Boards in December and orals in May.

The new gods of the campus are tentative gods – not tentative in their failure to last, for that always was the case, but tentatively accepted. Men like Brendan Behan have made hardly a ripple among undergraduates (they would have 40 years ago), Kerouac is largely incomprehensible and totally irrelevant, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is legal and old hat, and college football is played by hired men who are neither as competent nor as interesting as Roosy Grier and John Unitas. The great men of the age are those who, like Churchill and de Gaulle, preside with dignity and grandeur at the liquidation of empires. The great spokesman is J. D. Salinger and *Catcher in the Rye;* yet *Catcher* is assigned reading, which in itself seems to be enough of a distinction from Fitzgerald's *This Side of Paradise.* Salinger is part of the Establishment, along with David Riesman and Vance Packard and C. Wright Mills.

Perhaps this reawakening began with the Southern Negroes who stumbled onto "peaceful" protest. They went further at first than their elders were prepared to go. In a sense, they represented the privileged elements of their race, the ones who have risen far enough to attend college. But their tactics are in the modern style: they concentrate on one target at a time – theaters, restaurants – and who knows what will be next? They launch massive attacks against limited goals.

That is a characteristic of modern protest. Most of the new movements are extremely civilized. Politeness and decorum are their distinguishing features. The new agitation is founded, not on visions or self-delusion but on a calculated appraisal of the situation. This generation takes things more tentatively, expects less, and is probably less likely to crack. In some ways it combines the spirit of Rotary with the impulses that motivated the International Brigade. It may be able to connect the "winds of change" with George Babbitt. The students want to change the world, a little at a time, not for the sake of raising hell, but to prove themselves worthy of their degrees. A few months ago a student editor wrote: "The action taken in recent weeks by our generation – by college students like ourselves (in integration sit-ins) demonstrates that our actions can gain the attention and influence the decisions not only of people outside the colleges but of people outside the nation. . . ."

The impulse is constructive (to end racial discrimination); the objective is practical – how to influence people of influence.

And in Texas

In Texas the "silent generation" has found an apparently novel way of protesting against bigotry. The University of Texas has been more or less integrated since 1956, and this has led to integration in a number of Austin restaurants. So far, however, local movie theaters remain closed to Negroes – unless they can prove foreign citizenship. The locally-controlled chain agreed to integrate if the competing national ABC-Paramount chain does too. Leonard Goldenson, from the distant grandeur of his New York office, has, however, declined to risk an "incident" in faraway Austin. And anyway, he's busy making speeches about how to export the glorious story of the glorious American Way.

In the fall last year several hundred students in Austin, of both colors, protested by standing in ticket lines but refusing to buy tickets unless all were admitted. Now they have begun to circulate petitions, to be mailed to the RKO, Warner, Paramount and Loew's New York offices, which state the signers' intention of not attending any performances unless the theater is integrated, and belongs to a chain which is pressing forward integration elsewhere.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scalpel, Please

Assuredly, every rational American ought to bestow a pish and a couple of tuts on this John Birch Society. Calling Eisenhower a Communist! And John Foster Dulles! And even Gumshoe Allen! It deserves as severe a tut-tutting as Eisenhower gave Joe McCarthy when he called George C. Marshall a traitor. Come to think of it, though, Eisenhower decided not to say a word in that case; so let it go that the John Birch Society deserves a *worse* tut-tutting than McCarthy got.

The John Birch Society also deserves its day in court. The Mafia, the Purple Gang, the worst imaginable combination of hoodlums deserves its day in court, including the right to present its defense and to expose the lies, if any, of the witnesses against it. But since this right is not recognized in a typical investigation by the Un-American Activities Committee, not even the John Birch Society should be subjected to the Committee's typical investigation.

To be sure, steps should be taken to make public the objective, provable facts about this or any other organization that seeks to influence public opinion. For instance, who puts up the money?

Then, again, who writes the propaganda? For instance, who called Eisenhower a Communist? If it were shown that the author was some man of sense, with a reputation for probity, the charge might be serious. But we all know that the country is full of scriveners – some of them, unfortunately, shrewd fellows – whose pens are for sale to the highest bidder, and not a very high bidder at that. Some of them, for a dollar and a half in hand paid will cheerfully insult God, country and Yale, and boast of it.

An investigation that will bring out the facts is most desirable; but its record does not suggest that the Un-American Activities Committee can conduct one. Chairman Walter, indeed, professed at the start to see no need for any investigation, and a man who thinks it useless is not likely to make his inquiry very thorough.

Outraged Republicans, seeing how this stick has tarred their party from top to bottom, are shouting for punitive action. This is understandable, but its wisdom is open to question. It may be plausibly argued that there is a place for the John Birch Society in our political system as it is at present constituted. We have no political equivalent of the antibiotics that have revolutionized the practice of medicine in recent years, nothing that will eliminate pathogenic organisms from the blood stream. As far as the human body is concerned, in the days before penicillin *et seq.*, there was a place for the carbuncle. Dangerous and painful as it was, it did draw together and encyst in one spot toxic sources that might otherwise have permeated the whole system.

In every large society there is an anti-social element, a vestigial reminder from early history or pre-history, as useless as the vermiform appendix in the body and carrying the same menace of sudden inflammation, suppuration and rupture. We have had Know-Nothingism, Ku Kluxism and McCarthyism. In every case, recovery came only after the thing had become concentrated enough to be lanced, usually by the blade of public ridicule. Possibly the John Birch Society is such a concentration. If that is the case, civilized Republicans need not view it with too much alarm. After all, opposition to the modernization of American political policy has been endemic in their party, producing local symptoms at points as widely separated as Goldwater in Arizona and this man Welch in Massachusetts. It harried Eisenhower throughout his eight years in the White House. It was the nemesis of Nixon. Without ever becoming violent, it has kept the party too sick to gain control of Congress except for two brief intervals in thirty-one years. But in the whole range of political therapeutics there was no known way of eliminating it without killing the party.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, this John Birch movement signalizes the drawing together of all those poison-generating organisms into one huge carbuncle. The situation would still be serious, Heaven knows. Such an affliction on Uncle Sam's neck might well cause him to remember McCarthyism as a mere pimple; and yet it could be the precursor of a healthier day, for carbuncles can be removed.

However, all experience shows that their successful treatment is by surgery, not by butchery. Agitated Republicans hoping to save their party must be careful to pick up a scalpel, not a cleaver; and the keenest of scalpels is humor. The original John Birch, they say, was a disciple of a once-celebrated Texas cleric whom Mencken habitually referred to as the Rev. Two-Gun Norris, in view of the fact that he twice stood trial, once for burning his own church, and once for shooting one of his parishioners. Such a background offers ample opportunity to modern GOP satirists. If they are equal to it, the party has little to fear from this threat.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ward-Healers of the AMA

by Gilbert A. Harrison

The American Medical Association may succeed in frightening the Congress away from financing medical care for the aged through the Social Security system, but no amount of AMA propaganda can frighten away some elementary facts to which the President's program is addressed. For example, of 15.3 million individuals 65 and over who were not in institutions in 1959, 55 percent had an annual income of less than $1,000. Twenty-three percent $1,000 to $2,000, and nine percent $2,000 to $3,000. Only 13 percent had incomes of $3,000 or more. And these figures include those still working. And in the case of married couples, some of the income which is attributed to the husband goes for support of his wife, who may be under 65. Of 6.2 million *families* where the head of the family was 65 years of age or more, *half* had an income of less than $2,830; one-fourth less than $1,620 a year. More startling: of 3.6 million aged persons who live alone or with persons other than relatives, half had incomes of less than $1,010; four-fifths less than $2,000.

How do they get by, even if they get through the year without a day's illness? The answer is that many barely do. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in a study of 20 large cities in the autumn of 1959 concluded that a retired couple in reasonably good health for their age, *requiring no unusual medical or other services*, and keeping house by themselves in a small rented unit could get along modestly but adequately on a budget ranging from the minimum of $2,390 in Houston, Texas, to $3,110 in Chicago. This, remember, is premised on no unusual demand for medical care. Even so, this absolute minimum in a great many cases is higher than the actual income of aged couples. The BLS also estimated that a person of 65 or over who lives alone could get by, modestly but adequately, with from $1,410 to $1,835 in the 20 cities studied. But the actual median income for single persons in this age bracket living in these cities was only $1,140 in 1959.

Couldn't they fall back on their savings? Some could. But a Federal Reserve Board survey of consumer finances in 1959 found that of some 8 million "spending units" (in families the head of which was 65 years or more) 29 percent had *no* liquid assets (*i.e.*, bank accounts or savings bonds), 17 percent had $1 to $500 in reserve, 21 percent had $500 to $2,000. And of the aged whose income was under $3,000 a year (70 percent of the total), 47 percent had less than $200 in liquid assets; 44 percent had assets of $500 or more.

From such statistics it is apparent that the affluent society is not the society of a very great many old folks. And when we read the medical statistics, moreover, we are reading about the aged who do enter hospitals, who see their physicians. We don't know how much suffering, how much neglect is endured privately, with little or no treatment.

We are sure, however, that the number of days spent in a general hospital annually is two to three times as large on an average for persons 65 and over as for younger persons. A National Health Survey study in 1957-58 found that of those discharged from general hospitals after a short stay, those of 65 or over spent 1,778 days in the hospital (per 1,000 persons) as compared with 764 days (per 1,000 persons) for those under 65. The average length of hospitalization for the aged was 14.7 days; for those under 65, 7.8 days.

But in addition to using general hospitals more frequently and for longer periods than younger persons, the aged make special demands on nursing homes and other institutions which keep patients for more than a week or a month. They likewise need more of the doctors' time. An aged person on an average has 6.8 doctor visits a year. The number for the rest of the population is 4.8. In those families with less than $2,000 a year income (as surveyed from July, 1957, to June, 1959), 48 percent of the aged members of the family had some chronic condition which limited their activity; the average number of days spent in bed was 16.5 a year. And in families whose income was $7,000 or more, 37 percent of the aged had some chronic illness; the average number of bed disability days was 10.8 per year.

Nor is the picture complete yet. Usually a doctor's fee is higher for a house call than for an office visit, which helps explain a statement by the Health Information Foundation that "private outlays for physicians in behalf of persons 65 or over averaged almost twice as much per person per year (in 1957-58) as for persons under 65 – $55 and $29 respectively."

We also know, from information compiled by the Health Information Foundation, that the aged spend over twice as much per person for *total* medical care in a year as others. (This is what is spent by individuals – not what should be spent. And it does not include the heavy costs of terminal illnesses among those who live alone, or the cost of care for the aged in nursing homes or mental or tubercular hospitals.) For the years 1957-58, the average private expenditure for medical care of those 65 and over was $177; for those under 65, $86.

But even these averages are misleading: they give no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

true picture of the heavy financial burden of an illness that requires hospitalization. For example, of elderly people who were not married but who were entitled to Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance benefits in 1957, more than one in seven spent some time in a hospital, nursing home or other institution, and the median medical costs amounted to $600 for all such beneficiaries. This figure is higher today, for since 1957 the rates for all medical care items have gone up by 14 percent, and rates for hospital rooms have risen by 22 percent. Among the beneficiaries who spent some time in a general hospital during 1957, only 57 percent of those who were married and 38 percent of those non-married were able to meet all their medical bills by themselves (over and above any cost met by insurance). Of the rest, some went into debt, a sizable number received help from relatives or other outsiders.

Many of the aged have, of course, some medical insurance. About half of the OASDI beneficiaries who entered a general hospital sometime during 1957 had a part of their medical bill paid by insurance. But in many instances the insurance was inadequate; and for some who were insured against hospitalization, either the specific illness was excluded from coverage or the general hospital stay was too short (or the deductible too large) for the insurance to go into effect. Thus, of the aged OASDI beneficiaries who were insured and who went to a hospital during 1957, 16 percent of the couples had *no* portion of their year's total medical costs met by insurance; and 57 percent found that their insurance covered less than one-half of their total medical bills. Less than half (46 percent) of the aged have insurance against hospitalization costs (compared with 69 percent of the population under 65).

Furthermore, those most likely to suffer the most hardship – the retired, those with low incomes or with major chronic health problems – are least likely to have the advantage of *any* health insurance coverage. Many private insurance organizations will not even enroll persons 65 or over. To illustrate, as of early 1960, only about two-fifths of the Blue Cross plans accepted initial non-group enrollment from persons over 65. A study by the National Opinion Research Information Foundation shows that, as of four years ago, of those older persons who wanted coverage, 34 percent couldn't afford it and 16 percent had been refused insurance or had it cancelled.

The Kennedy Program

How has the Administration responded to these facts? It has recommended that some, but not all, of the cost of medical care for older people be financed by contributions to the Social Security system. The proposal is described this way by the Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur J. Cohen (confirmed by the Senate last week by *one* vote): "[It] would make it possible for the people of this country during their working years to provide for their health needs in their old age. Like the present social security benefits, health insurance protection would be provided as a *right* that is earned through work." Care would not be "free" or be a "hand-out." The plan "is based upon a recognition that expensive illness only too often forces the aged after a lifetime of independence to become dependent upon their children or to submit to the humiliation of inquiry into their personal affairs.... The health insurance proposal, like the Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance program now in effect, would not provide more than basic protection. It would provide payment for the cost of in-patient hospital care (after a deductible), skilled nursing home convalescence after hospitalization, hospital out-patient diagnostic services (after a deductible), and visiting nurse and related health services. ?.. The prerogatives of doctors and patients would remain unchanged. The patient would choose his own doctor, who in turn would be absolutely unhindered in practicing his profession."

Specifically, patients would be entitled to 90 days of in-patient hospital care for a single spell of illness at a minimum charge of $20 and a maximum charge of $90. But at no extra cost, the patient would be entitled to another 180 days of skilled nursing home care, and hospital out-patient clinic diagnostic services would be available for all costs exceeding the first $20 for each diagnostic study. Finally, the aged who benefit from this program could have as many as 240 *home* health care visits in a calendar year. Some 14¼ million persons (out of a total of 17¾ million 65 or over) would be eligible for benefits as of January, 1963.

Who pays the bill? The program would be financed entirely by an increase in social security tax contributions of one-fourth of one percent each for employers and employees, and three-eighths of one percent for self-employed persons, both to be effective as of January 1, 1963. Individual earnings subject to the tax would be raised from $4,800 to $5,000 effective the first of January, 1962.

Despite AMA propaganda this can be fairly termed a modest program; it leaves out, for example, any payment from the insurance fund to patients for their physicians' fees, except in very special instances. The patient would have full responsibility for picking his own doctor and his hospital.

But the trade association of the doctors does not see it this way; it sees revolution. The AMA is fighting back with every resource at its command. Last year, the AMA acknowledged spending $72,634.76 on lobbying activities in Washington, but one can be sure that that represents only a fraction of what was spent or will be spent in 1961. Already, members of the House Ways and Means Committee are receiving con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

siderable mail – "most of it running against the bill and coming from doctors and their organizations" – but Congress ain't seen nothin' yet. Beginning the middle of this month, the attack will start in earnest.

The AMA strategy was carefully outlined at a confidential get-together of the Association's high command on March 18 and 19 in Chicago. At this meeting, from which reporters were barred, those present were given a complete run-down on the members of the Senate and the House in terms of their likely positions on the President's medical care program. The meeting was told that if the "undecided" vote breaks evenly, the AMA will have the President licked.

Psychological Warfare

This private session was devoted primarily to a discussion of propaganda tactics. Sen. Robert Kerr, Democrat of Oklahoma, who a year ago had personally assured some of his colleagues that if only they would go along with his very limited medical program (which the Congress adopted) he would be on their side in 1961, made an off-the-record speech in which he said that it was now or never, and that if they could kill medical care to the aged through social security in 1961, it would probably stay dead.

When someone raised the question of whether it was really accurate to call the President's program "socialized medicine," he was advised that the AMA's public relations experts had studied this very carefully and found that this is the label best guaranteed to raise the voters' blood pressure.

The AMA breakdown of how the Congress will divide is probably as accurate as any count-in-advance can be. The odds at present are against Mr. Kennedy. Those Democrats the President needs most in this fight are either on the other side (Senator Byrd of the Finance Committee) or on the fence. He is getting no help from the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills of Arkansas. Mr. Mills has scheduled no hearings. He has been silent on the measure since this session of Congress opened. Mills' position is awkward. Due to the loss of two House seats in that state in the next election, he is in danger of having his seat pulled out from under him through redistricting.

Quite a variety of propaganda items was previewed in Chicago to be seen later by millions of Americans. There is a "digest of information" – eight pages, single-spaced – giving the AMA's arguments against the President's plan. There is a six-page, single-spaced "selected statistics concerning medical economics," designed to prove that Americans receive "the finest care of any nation." A special report was given at Chicago by the women's auxiliary to the AMA, outlining what ladies can do: "inform each member as to the danger

AMA
SOCIAL SECURITY MEDICAL PLAN
M.D.
"WE HAVE TO FIGHT WITH EVERY RESOURCE, RIGHT DOWN THE LINE" – American Medical Association policy.
HERBLOCK

"Now, Has Everyone Got One of These Little Figures and a Set of Pins?"

of a compulsory medical care program based on a social security tax. This is socialized medicine."

Texts of a canned talk for delivery at community meetings arranged by auxiliary members have been distributed. Specific lobbying instructions are being supplied: "Since each auxiliary member is a voter in her own right it is suggested that the individual letters which the auxiliary members write to Congressmen should be written on the member's own stationery in longhand or type and signed in her own name rather than that of her husband."

Chicago strategists were also told that headquarters will supply, in quantity, a special edition of the AMA News entirely devoted to this issue. In a red-bordered box on the front page of the News, the AMA speaks directly to doctors: "The medical profession bears the threat of this attack, and physicians can't afford to close their eyes and hope that when they open them again the whole unhappy business will have disappeared. They may awaken to the fact of government medicine. If they are socialized, their patients will be socialized as well. Physicians, individually and collectively, must wrest the initiative from the labor leaders and others who are determined to destroy free medicine. . . ."

The AMA has prepared an instruction sheet for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

district and county medical societies which recommends that: "Physician members must write and initiate a great number of individual letters to the Congress from their own membership and from friends in other organizations." Detailed suggestions are given on how the local medical society can unite "the allied health, professional and business groups in your community. . . ."

They are then told to contact dentists, pharmacists, the Farm Bureau, Chambers of Commerce, Junior Chambers of Commerce, manufacturing groups, retailers, local businessmen, etc. And in capital letters doctors are reminded that "the volume of letters and the diversity of interest of the people writing them is the important thing. Personal letters – no form letters. Telephone calls, telegrams and personal visits are also important. Be sure," they are reminded, that "the Congressman's name is spelled correctly and the letter is properly addressed. . . ."

Alongside Life and Holiday

Not only do most physicians have a Representative and two Senators, however; they have patients. And for them, there is a leaflet entitled (in red) "Socialized Medicine and *You*," to be placed in the doctors' waiting rooms, alongside *Life* and *Holiday*. It is "an open letter to my patients," and begins: "The time has come for all of us to stand and be counted on the question of socialized medicine." In large type we read "Your freedom is at stake." The patient is told that if he agrees "that preserving the freedoms of medical service is vital, then write to your Senators and Congressmen. Join me in telling them that socialized medicine is not for us. . . ."

And that's not all. The AMA has special hand-outs for "editorial writers," reprints from *Nation's Business*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Chicago Sun Times*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Richmond Times Dispatch*. There is also a sample letter to editorial writers for the doctors to copy and mail. There is a "communications" kit with ad mats for local newspapers. Space is left at the bottom of each ad for the signature of the particular medical society. One is entitled "Socialized Medicine and *You*" and can be ordered by number from the AMA, P.O. Box 5037, Chicago 80, Illinois. Five sample one-minute radio or television scripts are likewise available. Simplicity is stressed: "This is ..... [doctor's name]. As a practicing physician, I believe that any American (young or old) who needs medical care should get it. . . . That's why I favor the program of medical aid for the aged enacted in the Kerr-Mills law. (Pause) But some people don't want this law to succeed. They propose a *compulsory* program of medical services to the aged covered by social security – *regardless of need*. To me this represents *Socialized Medicine* for the elderly – with federal control abridging the patient's freedom to choose his doctor . . . compromising the privacy of the doctor-patient relationship. (Pause) For more facts, ask your family doctor for the pamphlet titled "*Medical Aid for the Aged*."

On April 19, a full-page advertisement will appear in 29 major newspapers. The reasons given in that ad for rejecting the President's program are interesting: "As Americans – not simply as physicians – we are deeply concerned about the dangers of socialized medicine. . . . The Socialist Party itself calls it socialized medicine. And we believe they have a more expert knowledge of socialist definitions than do those who describe the social security approach as 'just a method of financing aid for the aged'."

"This compulsory Health Care Program adds up to nothing more than socialized medicine – controlled by a bureau of the federal government . . . paid for by increased social security taxes, burdening both present and future generations. Confined at first to the aged . . . it would inevitably be expanded to cover all Americans.

"Moreover, when the federal government enters the privacy of the examination room – controlling both standards of practice and choice of practitioner – the cost includes loss of freedom. Your doctor's freedom to treat you in an individual way. Your freedom to choose your own doctor. When the physician is socialized his patient is socialized as well." (The AMA will also underwrite "a solid FM radio campaign [to] supplement our national advertising in the metropolitan dailies – reaching millions of citizens whose intelligent support is so essential to us.")

Doctors may order mats of these full-page ads in different sizes and schedule them for local publication to tie in with the national advertising. A second advertisement entitled "Socialized Medicine and *You*" is ready to go at a later date . . . "if necessary." One, two and three- column mats carrying the AMA's message are available "that can be fitted into the advertisements of pharmacists and other interested retailers." One warns that a Forand-type bill would endanger "one of the basic principles of our responsibility to you. This is a principle expressed in the physician's pledge – 'I will hold in confidence all that my patient confides in me'."

None of this true; none of it is relevant to providing adequate medical care for older people, who are not for the most part getting it and cannot get it through charity or private insurance plans; the references to "compulsion" is fraudulent. For what ails so many of the aged is being compelled to endure illness without proper treatment, or to be dependent on charity or on younger members of a family which is struggling itself to keep ahead of the bill collector.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religion and Its Substitutes

by Reinhold Niebuhr

The author of this wide-ranging tract on the realities of our partly religious and partly secular Western culture is a thoughtful and imaginative journalist, the Vice-Director of the Culture and Education Division of the Bavarian radio system. His book has found wide acclaim and aroused a good deal of

The Future of Unbelief
by Gerhard Szczesny
(Braziller; $4)

controversy in Germany, where the author is influential in the post-Nazi renaissance of modern German culture, if not as a creative artist, than as an important middle man.

The study is critical of both the religious heritage of the West and of the modern "substitute religions." This negative attitude toward both traditional religion and modern secularism gives the author a certain impartiality and want of polemical bias. It enables him to make some telling points against both attitudes, though he obviously lacks sufficient knowledge of the details of the complicated history of either religion or unbelief to be quite fair or adequate in his criticisms.

The general orientation of the study might be defined as "existentialist," though the only modern existentialist who has obviously influenced his thought is Heidegger. His thesis is that the myths of Western religion have sought to do justice to the meaning and enigma of individual existence, but the myths have been discredited by modern science's discovery of the regularities and causal sequences of the natural and historical world. This development has led to "objective thinking" or "order-thinking," and these in turn do not do justice to the grandeur and tragedy of human existence.

He distinguishes in the history of the West "two basic and divergent systems of interpretation. On the one hand those that are based on the observation of natural events; on the other hand those which originate from man's contemplation of his inner self." The myths of religion have been discredited by modern science because its analysis of causes has invalidated the religious belief in a personal God, transcendant to the world and arbitrarily interfering in its processes. This personal God, derived particularly from the Hebraic component of Western religion is "the ego raised to infinite proportions" and its relation to the world is such that the author feels justified in defining the system of belief as "metaphysical dualism." Now, this hardly does justice to the fact that the Hebraic component of Christianity made the valuable contribution of a consistent monistic interpretation of the human situation, insisting on the unity of the self in body, mind and spirit. Mr. Szczesny is equally unaware of the relation of the Hebraic concept of the "chosen people," which concept he abhors as part of the arbitrariness of the divine governor of the world, to the sense of a dramatic meaningfulness of history.

The most telling observation on the negative effects of Christian dogma on the moral norms of the West deal with sex and with the emphasis on self-abnegation, or self-sacrifice. Of the two criticisms the one dealing with sex is the more devastating because most in accord with the historic facts.

He writes that "when Christianity decides to release man from nature's toils the mystery of eros becomes a ruttish scandal of sex, a phenomenon so effective that even the sacrament of marriage can not purify it but actualizes it and makes it visible." Many critics of Christian sex ethics have made the same point and quite a few of them have been Christian.

His other most telling criticism of religion does define a persistent form of religious individualism that is particularly dubious. "It is of the essence of religion," he writes, "to make the promise of redemption independent of all intellectual and social requirements and to predicate its consummation exclusively on individual preparedness." The remark is rele-

Boston's Unwashed Reclassified

Native, indeed, to Boston and the church
And never one to leave in pagan lurch
His God, his dollar or his female flesh,
He comes to State street every morning, fresh
From marriage bed suburban, laundered, wry,
And all day helps the rich to sell and buy.

His hand, his head, his eye, his hidden heart
Are all forbidden to betray the art
Of greed through contract and negotiation.
Interest and profit constitute vocation
To him whose careful cleverness and wit,
Deodorized, will void the unfit
And place his pious mien and timely smile
Among the eminent in gain and guile.

JOHN PORTER HEYMANN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

case urgent

Bui Thi Chinh, Vietnamese, age 4. Both parents ill. Mother suffers heart condition. Father has marsh fever. Unable to work steadily. Occasionally earns 20¢ a day. Two other children in family. Cannot afford to go to school. "Home" is a hut. Torn, woven bamboo walls. Floors beaten earth. House flooded during monsoons. Chinh sweet, sensitive, undernourished. Knows only want. Parents sick with despair for their destitute children. Help to Chinh means life to whole family. Case urgent.

You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child, and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by Plan. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, food packages, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8.00 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by Plan staff and is insured against loss in every country where Plan operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents Plan. Let some child love you.**

Plan is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City.

We eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds. Plan helps children in France, Italy, Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam and Hong Kong.

© 1961 FPP, Inc.

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N.Y. • FOUNDED 1937

PARTIAL LIST of SPONSORS and FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Bing Crosby
K. C. Gifford
Helen Hayes
Dr. John Haynes Holmes
Charles R. Hook
C. D. Jackson
Gov. & Mrs. Walter Kohler
Garry Moore
Edward R. Murrow
Mary Pickford
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs. Robert Sarnoff

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC **NR-4-17-61**
352 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N.Y.
In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex....., age....., nationality.....

I will pay $15 a month for one year or more ($180 per year). Payment will be monthly ☐, quarterly ☐, semi-annually ☐, yearly ☐.

I enclose herewith my first payment $.....

B. I cannot "adopt" a child, but I would like to help a child by contributing $.....

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Date.....

Contributions are Income Tax deductible.

vant to Protestant pietism, particularly as expressed in the absurdities of modern evangelism, which offers the formula of "surrender your heart to Christ" as an answer to the dilemmas of a nuclear age. It is hardly fair to the Catholic social tradition, embodied in its natural concepts, even though these may be too inflexible to fit into the historical contingencies with which every age is confronted. Nor it is fair to the best Hebraic social thought from the prophets of the Old Testament to Martin Buber.

Mr. Szczesny errs just as grievously in dealing with modern secularism, defined by the author as "substitute religions." "Objective systems," he writes, "reduce life's meaning to man's participation in scientific and quasi-scientific processes." There are of course also subjective systems "which see life's meaning in the unfolding of the individual's ability to experience and enjoy," but no modern system of unbelief seems to comprehend both dimensions.

His most striking mistake, it seems to me, is his derivation of all forms of secular religious collectivism, whether Prussianism, Nazism or Communism from the errors of "objective thinking." Certainly this is too simple a formula. Prussianism and Nazism represent traditional and a modern corrupt form of romantic nationalism; and communism is a curious compound of "Objective thinking" (Marx and Engels "laws of motion") with secularized religious Messianism. Historical realities are almost always more complex than the simple categories by which we seek to comprehend them.

It is perhaps unfair to criticize the author for a more excellent diagnosis than prescription, since that is a failing we all have. But his suggestions on what Western culture must do to extricate itself from the inadequacies of traditional beliefs on the one hand and "substitute religions" on the other hand, are minimal. One of his prescriptions is the exercise of imagination and curiosity: "Only that curiosity which consistently transcends the existing content of knowledge," he writes, "is able to break free of the chains with which reason has fettered itself.... The transcendant function of a freely soaring gliding spirit, which constantly passes beyond the borders of the se-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

curely given, naturally entails the possibility of error. Nevertheless it attests the presence of freedom; and it is a prerequisite for that fullness of image whereby the creative imagination presses forward to the realm of the unknown." That may be an invitation to the artists to create new and more adequate myths. But are not authentic myths the fruits of more unconscious and hidden historical forces than this invitation implies?

MOVIES

Not Quite All Right, Jack

The new school of British social-realist films now encounters a second difficulty in this country. The first, which did not prevent a few of these films from finding an audience, was the time-lag; American art discovered the proletariat some thirty years ago. The second hurdle is simply surfeit.

This is a pity because the latest of these British films, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, is one of the best of the movement, and it is the only one

Saturday Night and Sunday Morning
(Continental)

that faces certain emotional implications for the present-day working class. Arthur Seaton, its hero, is not out of Dreiser or Lawrence or John Braine, surging upward; he is a proletarian, consciously trapped in his class, both exultant in and exasperated by the improvement of his lot over his dad's. Better factory conditions and full employment and the National Health Service have given him armor against poverty and the boss's threat of discharge; but he is shrewd enough to see that these benefits have sapped the dynamism of the working class, made them relatively resigned, and, in a sense, put gilded locks on the class barriers. Naturally he is not against the improvements *per se;* he is against the implicit attitude, on the part of both workers and bosses, that now they ought to be content with their lot.

Arthur is not content. He is bursting with ego, energy, and youthful cleverness. And unionization and the labor laws have had the Calvinistic effect of predicting his fate too accurately. He knows what he will be earning at 65, what he will be eating, where he will be living – even how many of his teeth will be missing and where he will go to get the dentures.

The latest economic news from Britain is that things are not *quite* All Right, Jack, and it is possible to imagine, without flippancy, that in their heart of hearts young Arthur and his fellows are not entirely dismayed about this. At least it will upset the deadly sameness of their lives. This is not to say that all workers long to be thrilled by the threat of unemployment or that a few years of depression varies the diet happily. But on the emotional level, not the economic or social, some action is better than none to a young buck, and hardship at least provides outlets for anger through protest.

His only outlet is the Saturday night binge at the end of a boring week. "What I want is a good time – all the rest is propaganda." Plenty of beer and girls, and, as much to prove his nerve as anything else, an affair with a pal's wife – which gives him the chance to slip out the back door as the husband comes home.

The friend's wife becomes pregnant, by Arthur, and much of the film deals uneuphemistically with a futile quest for abortion. Even though Arthur has met a girl who attracts him, he offers to marry the wife, but she is wiser than he is. She knows that to accept his offer would be to chain herself to a hulk of resentment. She decides to stay where she is, have the baby, and take the consequences. Arthur also takes his consequences: a beating from the husband's friends and love for the new girl. He recovers from the former in a week, but the latter, because he loves the new girl sufficiently to marry her, will trap him for life.

Alan Sillitoe has adapted the screenplay from his good but, to me, wildly overpraised novel. Generally the screenplay is pungent and fast, with a few superfluous episodes. (The sequence in which the bereaved husband breaks the funeral-parlor window is self-contained and contributes nothing new in characterization.) Its chief virtue is its aura of ironclad fate, which is a long way above the finger-marked contrivances of John Osborne.

Albert Finney, who plays Arthur and who has previously been seen here only briefly as the soldier-brother in *The Entertainer*, is already one of the most celebrated young actors in England. His face is not an outstandingly good actor's mask; it is not a distinguished or attractive face and, as yet, it lacks

Notes on Contributors

Reinhold Niebuhr's *newest book is* Essays in Applied Christianity. John Porter Heymann *makes his first* New Republic *appearance with this issue.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mobility and subtlety. But he forces his way ahead, carrying his fairly dead pan before him. There are touches in him of the humming animal vitality of Brando and the compelling abrasiveness of the young Cagney. He has what might be called resident power; his presence *continues* effortlessly while he is on camera, without mugging or distracting from his fellow actors. Perhaps this defines that silly phrase "star quality." It certainly defines the "natural" actor.

Rachel Roberts plays the friend's wife with the sullen yet clear-eyed ferocity of a woman who means to have "a bit of fun" even while she sees the futility of it. Shirley Anne Field, who was touching as the beauty-contest winner in *The Entertainer*, plays the sweetheart with a sexual sensibility that marks her as more than just a pretty girl who can be herself in public.

This is the first long film directed by Karel Reisz, a former colleague of Tony Richardson's in the British Free Cinema, who has made a prize-winning documentary and written a book on film editing. It is an extraordinarily good piece of work, free of the exhibitionism that often curses those who come out of the world of theory and the cinema club. There is no artiness, no attempt to draw attention to himself. Richardson means you to notice the director and uses every trick he can remember to do it. Reisz is content to reveal his milieu, his people, and his story straightforwardly and sympathetically. Figuratively, he keeps out of the way of the film and lets it work on you. Of course this means, in practice, that he is making all the right moves, not doing nothing. For example, he has selected the right place and light for each scene (the park for the parting with the wife, the football field for the walk with the girl).

By this blunt "presentation" of his characters, while never abandoning the camera's mobility, and by editing which is clean and interesting without trying to jab you every time he cuts to a new sequence, Reisz has achieved the ideals of horizontal motion and vertical texture.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

THEATER

A Theory of Theatrical Relativity

The dramatic event – being itself compounded of illusion – can have a very unsettling effect upon one's sense of reality; but this is nothing compared with the disorientation caused by reading reviews. I am perfectly accustomed by now to seeing an entirely different play on the second night than my newspaper colleagues described after the first; after all, it is a commonplace that no two people present at an accident will be able to report it in a similar way. On the other hand, while collision witnesses may disagree about details, they can generally agree, at least, that they saw an *accident*. Not so in the theater. Over the past few weeks, I have been witness to a series of calamities so serious that, had they occurred anywhere but on the stage, they would have brought the National Guard, the militia, and the Red Cross, bearing warm blankets and hot coffee for the victims. Yet, some of the very works that seemed to me such catastrophes – *vide The Devil's Advocate* which made me draft a petition to declare the Billy Rose theater a disaster area – have been reported in the press as "unforgettable and moving human experiences." Since I am too arrogant to concede that my own perceptions are faulty, and too charitable to blame my colleagues, I must conclude that objective reality is a movable feast which each man eats from his own table.

Hamlet
by William Shakespeare
(Phoenix Theater)
A Far Country
by Henry Denker
(The Music Box)
Big Fish, Little Fish
by Hugh Wheeler
(ANTA Theater)

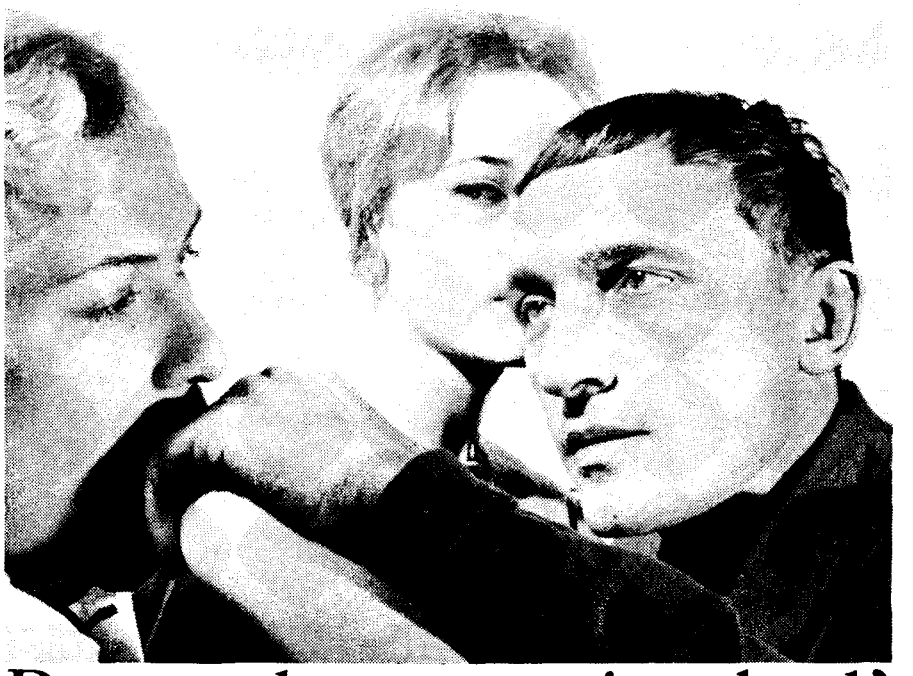
I have countless examples to illustrate my theory of theatrical relativity, but will name only two – the first being the Phoenix *Hamlet*. This production not only stunned the newspaper reviewers but evoked a rapturous editorial in *The Times* (which always prints the truth), so I advance a contrary opinion with a good deal of trepidation: to me, it seemed suitable mainly for leg fetishists and teenagers. The first group will be satisfied by the costumer, who has exposed a range of the knobbiest knees in the Western world, the second by the swashbuckling of the director and the actors. Stuart Vaughan seems baffled by the inside of the play, so he ignores it completely, whisking us violently along the outside, by means of jumped cues, simultaneous speeches, and abrupt transitions, until he reaches a scene where he feels comfortable, generally amidst the cutlery and gore of melodrama. As for Donald Madden as *Hamlet*, he is the perfect teenage idol – manic, skittish, petulant, and self-pitying, his pelvis buckled in a perpetual slouch and his hands outstretched imploringly like a rock-and-roll singer suddenly deprived of his guitar. Mr. Madden's *Hamlet*, while athletic, lacks a spine, and his delivery is persistently accompanied by an irritating yes-no punctuation of his head (up and down on lines that console him, back and forth on those too painful to endure), so that the Prince's entire intuitive vocabulary unravels like an endless skein of empty sententiae. But then this Phoenix production, at best, is merely sententious melodrama in which speed, sensation, and strain are substituted for energy, feeling, and insight.

Henry Denker's *A Far Country* is the second of my philosophical examples, a work which – among other flattering things – has been called "explosive." It is explosive mainly of the memory of Sigmund Freud. For out of *Studies in Hysteria* – written with Joseph Breuer and considered the first important psychoanalytic work – Denker has contrived a piecy-piecy and scrupulously dull psychodrama, set in strudel-and-schnapps Vienna around the turn of the century. The pivot of the plot is the case of Elizabeth Von R., a young

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

girl whose rather conventional neurosis produced hysterical symptoms of an apparently serious nature (paralysis of the legs). Denker cannot be blamed for the superficiality of this early case, which is interesting only for having helped Freud to discover psychoanalysis, but he is responsible for an extremely clichéd treatment of the process of discovery. The arduous preparatory work and accumulated case studies that brought Freud to this important insight have all been condensed into a pat Hollywood bromide, halfway between the old Dr. Kildare movies, where the physician bullies the patient into walking again, and the movie biographies featuring Paul Muni, where the dedicated scientist blunders onto the truth, with a sudden cry of Eureka – all interspersed with formula bridge scenes featuring the hero intimidated by the medical profession, warned by his timid colleague, estranged from his wife, and exhaustedly collapsing over the books on his desk.

The most serious distortion, however, is reserved for the character of Freud himself, now transformed into a humorless and aggressive prosecuting attorney, relentlessly pressing towards the guilty secret in his patient's heart ("You were glad your sister died, weren't you!"). For some wildly unaccountable reason, the part has been entrusted to Steven Hill, famed for his portrayal of grouchy neurotics (this is nothing – Martha Freud is played by Salome Jens, the statuesque horse-girl of *The Balcony*). Since Mr. Hill is almost heroic in his stubborn refusal to adapt himself in any way to the character, Freud's full and generous intellectual nature has now been reduced to the monotonously intoned irascibility of a Method actor. Kim Stanley as Elizabeth Von R(itter) is, at least, better cast, and may impress those who are seeing her for the first time, but her impersonation of nerves and hysteria has now become as predictable as Helen Hayes' coquettry with the audience, and her piping voice remains an extremely limited instrument. Add a bit of all-thumbs direction by Alfred Ryder and you have a wholly tiresome evening, which will give comfort only to those who – erroneously ascribing to Freud the vulgarities of Broadway Freudianism – might find irony in seeing



Do you dare to get involved?

Here, a naked portrait of jealousy. A healthy defense or neurotic syndrome? Find out in the unusual and lucid pages of Réalités magazine. In fact, you will see, feel and share in all types of experiences, for Réalités is Realism.

Month after month, Réalités takes you on an escapade with professional camera and pen down the many different avenues of life on the Continent: the arts, current events, fashion, food, philosophy, politics, travel—topics of great interest... topics of delight, always the things that make European living all-enveloping.

Be intellectually engrossed... be entertained by France's foremost commentators and journalists. Keep Réalités within arm's reach to see, perhaps study, the valuable collection of paintings and photographs ingeniously reproduced on heavy varnished paper. You might even agree with the critics who call this *"The Most Beautiful Magazine In The World."*

Mailed direct from Paris, Réalités is available in English-language or French-language editions. Treat yourself, and particular friends or relatives, to the thoroughly fresh and rewarding experience of "living in Europe"... for a year.

Available by subscription only. $15.00 a year (12 issues)

Réalités

REALITES in America, Dept. 68
301 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Please enter my subscription to REALITES:

☐ English Edition
☐ French Edition

☐ 1 year (12 issues) $15
☐ 2 years (24 issues) $25

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY: _____ ZONE____ STATE _____

Above subscription is a ☐ Gift ☐ My own

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EUROPE

A low-cost unregimented tour with the fun of personal discovery. A unique route—up to 70 days & 24 countries on & off the beaten path. Russia, N. Africa optional. Unless the conventional type tour is a must for you, write

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Box N Pasadena, California

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

Aardvark Press
AND GRIEVE, LESBIA
POEMS by
MAURICE KENNY 50c

SHAKE 'EM UP! with a "Big Brother is Watching You" MOBILE. Clever, intriguing, a conservation piece. Postpaid, $2.00. T. Beaubien Healy, 1241 Slater Lane, Toledo 12, Ohio.

LIVE IN A STIMULATING COMMUNITY! Modern Community Developers offers homes in well planned, intelligently integrated communities in Philadelphia area; Princeton, N.J.; Waterbury and Stamford, Conn.; Wilmington, Del. Co-op apartments available in Riverdale, Brooklyn and Bronx, N.Y.C. Write M.C.D., 84 Nassau, Princeton, N.J., or phone Stuart Wallace, Princeton – WAlnut 4-0701.

EVEN PAPERBACKS ARE CHEAPER in Scotland. Send 50 cents to THE PAPERBACK BOOKSHOP, GEORGE SQUARE, EDINBURGH 8, for catalogue.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

KEEP IN TOUCH
with today's college thought. $2.00 per year.
THE NASSAU LITERARY MAGAZINE
Whig Hall Princeton, N.J.

FREETHINKERS! ATHEISTS! AGNOSTICS!
THE SECULARIST
The leading, dynamic monthly magazine for you. Send $1 for 6 mos. trial (or $2 for yr.) to:
American Secularist Assoc.
Box 91-NR, Newark 1, N.J.

AFRIQUE *action*
The liberal voice of emerging Africa.
Edited in Tunis, in French. Send 25c for your copy.
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS
Room 503, 1475 Broadway, New York 36

the engineer hoist with his own petar.

Hugh Wheeler's *Big Fish, Little Fish* – rather quickly dismissed by the reviewers – fits my theory only by inversion, but I want to mention it because it gave me a lot of pleasure. A surprisingly modest treatment, full of wry humor and affecting sincerity, of friendship among a clique of gauche but ingratiating failures, it might have been more consistently truthful if the author had dropped his occasional preoccupation with an unconvincing plot and let the work go as a character study. But as it stands, the play enjoys the most impressive ensemble work of the year. John Gielgud, abetted by seven inspired actors, has directed a performance in which every nuance of costume, makeup, and setting contributes to the revelation of character. When you see what Hume Cronyn makes out of the role of a sweet, fussy homosexual with cultural pretensions, and what Martin Gabel can do with a stuffy, vague old duffer with proprietary claims on other people's furniture, you will weep for the waste of talent on our commercial stage which has hitherto obscured the gifts of these two men. But then I speak as one for whom Broadway's amateurism and mediocrity are among the few absolutes in a world of elusive truth.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

Silent Generation – Loud Protest

Sirs:

One finds it hard to understand why you bothered to publish Gene Bluestein's "Songs of the Silent Generation" (March 13). Its irresponsible inaccuracies and puerile snideness are unworthy of your magazine. Surely you have a better use for your pages than as a dumping ground for some writer's clipping file, especially when the writer is the type who considers he has "written" an article when he has scotch-taped together opinions culled from other recent magazine articles, slipping in a little distortion here, a little distortion there, when it suits his purpose.

I take particular issue with Mr. Bluestein's remarks about *Mademooiselle*, which I happen to know rather well, and about that magazine's article on folk singing, "The Folk Furor" (December 1960 issue), which he misquotes at length.

Mr. Bluestein's bias shows up in the first line of his article. He tells your readers that *Mademoiselle* is "the magazine which specializes in telling smart young women what the bright young men of Madison Avenue think they should know." Oh, come on! What does he mean? *Mlle.* editors, maybe? (The staff is composed almost exclusively of women.) Or was he perhaps thinking of some of *Mademoiselle's* contributors – William Faulkner, for instance? Or Tennessee Williams, Henry Steele Commager, Kenneth Tynan, Dr. Carl Singer, James Baldwin, Paul Goodman, Edward Albee, Ionesco, Kenneth Rexroth?

But that is only the beginning of Mr. Bluestein's misrepresentations and condescensions. *Mademoiselle*, he says, "got around" to explaining the folk song fad in December 1960. He should have checked the Guide to Periodical Literature or something. For the December 1960 piece was not *Mademoiselle's* first on the folk song movement.

Mademoiselle reported that the current student folk music movement really got its start eight or ten years ago with a small, isolated group of campus intellectuals and rebels – *e.g.* graduate students in art and mathematics at Yale – and that their tastes had spread way out all through what might be looked upon as a vast student middle class. (Fads usually do begin with an *avant garde* minority, and move out from there.)

Mr. Bluestein takes care to point out that the college folks song addict does not flip over the antics of commercial folk song groups such as the Kingston Trio. Because of some rather loose writing it is impossible to tell whether he is trying, here, to get in another crack at *Mademoiselle*. But for the record, *Mademoiselle's* article says this: While college students may start out with an interest in popularizers like Belafonte, they move on, in their taste,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

towards the ruggedly authentic, Library of Congress recordings of the songs and ballads of anthracite miners, for example. These students like to find out what goes into the making of a folk song – what the people who sang it thought and did, what prompted the song in the first place.

Mr. Bluestein suggests that *Mademoiselle's* reporter can't "quite understand" what attracts college students to music which evokes "the ideas and emotions of the downtrodden and the heartbroken, of garage mechanics and mill workers and miners and backwoods farmers." This interpretation is obviously intended as a slap. It would have been more accurate, however, to have left the quote in context. *Mademoiselle* said this:

> "Studying a song makes a student feel allied to it. It enables a girl who grew up surrounded by the best of everything to sing with some conviction the kinds of blues and spirituals that, theoretically, could be sung honestly only by a prisoner on a Southern chain gang. Why American college students should want to express the ideas and emotions of the downtrodden and the heartbroken, of garage mechanics and millworkers and miners and backwoods farmers, is in itself an interesting question. But there is certainly good reason for students today to find the world brutal and threatening, and one suspects that when they sing out about the burdens and sorrows of the Negro, for example, they are singing out their own state of mind as well."

It would seem to me that this awareness, on the part of many students (a rather personal awareness) of brutality and threat, has contributed significantly to their sympathy for the rebelling Negro students – among the first of this generation to break silence and to make an active protest. And it was certainly sympathy for the rather dramatic cause of the Negro student that woke a number of white college students from their long sleep of inaction. The white students, at least some of them, began first to demonstrate on behalf of the Negro sit-ins, and then they found other causes that were also worth championing: they began demonstrating for and against civil defense, the activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, and so on.

Mr. Bluestein, I would say, attempts to link the student folksong movement too closely with the new trend, on the campus, towards social protest. Students' interest in folk music preceded the picket lines by at least three or four years; and their current passion, in the folk field, is for Bluegrass and country music. It seems to me that students' protest is bigger than specific issues; it does not limit itself to just one area of life. Students today (at least a small group of them) are trying to break the mold of the organized society Paul Goodman has complained about so compellingly. They would like to get rid of the slick and the phony and the unfair and the unmeaningful. I suspect they would not think much of an article like Mr. Bluestein's.

Nancy Lynch
Mademoiselle

Operation Abolition

Sirs:

Congratulations and thanks for your comprehensive and accurate review by Stanley Kauffmann of "Operation Abolition" in the March 27 issues. Of the many articles on this film, the San Francisco demonstrations and the recent reawakening of political interest on the American campus, yours is at once the clearest, the most concise, and to my mind, the most penetrating of all those I have read.

Christine W. Murray
Berkeley, California

Sirs:

Bravo for Stanley Kauffmann's fine piece on "Operation Abolition" (March 27). It occurs to me that *NR* readers might also be interested in an excellent, dispassionate article, prepared by the Northern California Chapter of ADA, on what the House Committee on Un-American Activities has done and is doing in California. This twelve-page pamphlet, written under the direction of Paul Seabury, chairman of the Chapter and Professor of Political Science at Berkeley, may be had for 15 cents, with bulk ratet ton request, by writing ADA, 41 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

Page H. Wilson
Washington, D. C.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N.J.

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
Room 503
1475 Broadway
New York 36, N.Y.

STATUS SEEKERS
can really impress their friends with a Mobile. "Big Brother is Watching You." Literary, artistic, political polemic prompter. $2.00 postpaid
T. Beaubien Healy
1241 Slater Lane
Toledo 12, Ohio

SHAKESPEARE'S selected quotations from Plays or Sonnets. Beautifully lettered by renowned Calligrapher. Lithographed, two colors on parchment. For framing or gifts. $2.00 each. Free folder listing Shakespeare items.
HAND AND QUILL
Box 974, Sherman Oaks, California

"MAKE YOUR WILL!"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills.
$1.00 Complete.
National Forms, Box 48313NR,
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

VERMONT MAPLE SYRUP
Grade A Gallon $6.45 ½ gal. $3.50
PLUS POSTAGE
N. Pliny Smith, Cabot, Vermont

COUPLE DESIRE SUMMER POSITION
to lead experimental theater with social orientation. Other skills. Edelson, 19 Griswold St. Cambridge, Mass.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?
Is all your concern for people? Then welcome to the ranks of HUMANISTS! We cordally invite you to join the AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; we have local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three month special trial membership to:
American Humanist Association, Dept. NR
Yellow Springs, Ohio

CLASSIFIED RATES

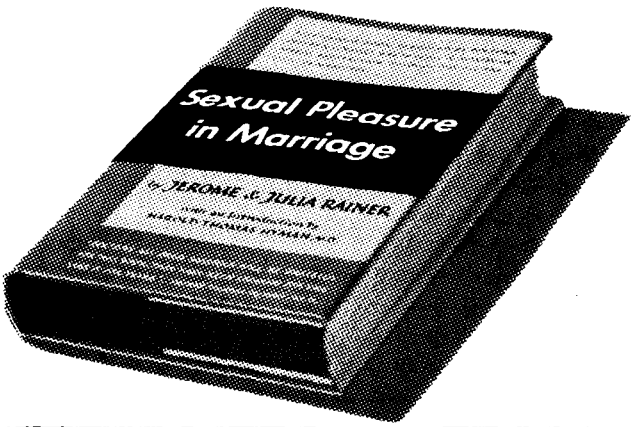
Per word (single insertion).....12c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....11c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....10c
Per word 26 times in one contract year..... 9c
Per word 48 times in one contract year..... 8c

NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth St. N.W., Wash. 6, D.C.

Printed by National Publishing Co., 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JUN 5



An entirely new kind of guide for married lovers...

TOO MANY husbands and wives whose marriages are otherwise happy feel that their sex life together lacks the pleasure it should have. If *your* marriage is troubled by subtly gnawing dissatisfactions with the sexual act, here is a wonderful new book for you. It is called *Sexual Pleasure in Marriage*. Thoroughly approved by doctors, it tells you how you can achieve maximum sexual satisfaction through *all* the years of your marriage. In its pages you will find an intelligent way to deepen the pleasure and widen the sexual variety so necessary for a full, joyful married life.

THE KEY TO LASTING SEXUAL DELIGHT

This book shows you how to keep boredom out of your marriage. Why restrict yourself to a limited sexual horizon? The world of married love is rich with excitement and meaning, and should be explored. Here is a guide to that world. It will be welcomed not only by husbands and wives who are disturbed about their sexual relations, but also by all married couples who wish to better their marriages.

You can examine a copy of *Sexual Pleasure in Marriage* by Jerome and Julia Rainer for ten days without obligation. Just send the coupon to your bookseller or to the publishers, Julian Messner, Inc., Dept. B55, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y. If you are not convinced the book is helpful to you, you may return it for prompt refund of the $4.95 price.

HERE IS A DIGEST OF THE MANY HELPFUL CHAPTERS:

Sexual Pleasure: The Neglected Art. Fruits of the sex revolution . . . Kinsey and confusion . . . the inconsiderate husband . . . the unresponsive wife . . . nuptial monotony . . . infidelity and divorce . . . revitalizing conjugal sex . . . pleasures that last a lifetime.

The Modern Husband. His sexual sophistication . . . as his wife's loving teacher . . . sexual rights, obligations . . . what stimulates his desire . . . measuring masculinity . . . his "success" & potency.

The Responsive Wife. Her sexual sophistication . . . myths of feminine passivity . . . what stimulates her desire . . . developing a joyous abandon . . . frequency of orgasm . . . the truth about female "lag" . . . a valid sexual etiquette for the modern wife.

Myths and Facts About Sexual Compatibility. Differences in desire . . . who is oversexed? . . . patterns of normal desire . . . effect of tension . . . fatigue . . . emotional conflicts . . . variations in cultural attitudes . . . does age difference in partners matter? . . . nature's aids . . . is sex always sublime?

Overcoming Blocks to Pleasure. The impotent husband . . . the frigid wife . . . some effects of adolescent petting . . . inhibiting situations . . . overcoming guilt and fear . . . the cycles of pleasure in coitus . . . love as pleasure's greatest stimulant.

The Act of Coition. The myth of simultaneous climax . . . timing . . . tumescence . . . orgasm for the male, and female . . . the quick ejaculating male . . . desirable frequency for intercourse . . . truth about "sexual excesses."

Courtship in Marriage. Setting the scene . . . taking time for love . . . cultivating erotic responses . . . learning from India and the Orient . . . erotic stimulants: food, wine, poetry, music . . . the sense of smell . . . the male as initiator . . . the wife's response . . . the wife's invitation . . . the husband's response.

Foreplay: Threshold to Pleasure. The physiological need of foreplay . . . psychological barriers . . . learning to abandon oneself to pleasure . . . adjusting to the partner's responses . . . refinements of sensation . . . the "soul" kiss . . . ancient rituals.

Can Pleasure Lead to Perversion? What is abnormal sex? . . . homosexuality . . . masochism . . . sadism . . . fetichism . . . superficial similarities to normal behavior . . . the range of pleasure.

Postural Variations. History of generally accepted positions . . . variations . . . Greek, Egyptian, Indian subtleties . . . exploring the frontiers of sensuality.

Sexual Pleasure in Later Years. Erotic joys that last a lifetime . . . value maturity brings . . . "change of life," does it change desire? . . . developing nuances of pleasure . . . is there an age limit for sexual activity? . . . prolonging sexual life . . . effect on lifespan.

ALSO INCLUDED as part of this remarkable book: An Encyclopedia of Sex Guidance and Information. This extensive appendix brings you concise, thorough explanations and definitions of the vocabulary of sex. Covering dozens of words and ideas which have often confused husbands and wives, the "Encyclopedia" is only one of the unique features of *Sexual Pleasure in Marriage*.

SEND NO MONEY. 10 DAYS FREE EXAMINATION

Mail to your favorite bookstore, or

JULIAN MESSNER, INC., DEPT. B55, 8 WEST 40TH ST., N. Y. 18, N. Y.

Please send me a copy of SEXUAL PLEASURE IN MARRIAGE by Jerome and Julia Rainer. I will pay the postman $4.95 plus postage and handling charges. I understand that if I am not convinced that this book offers a helpful and sensible way to improve married life, I may return it within 10 days for refund of purchase price.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone .... State .....

☐ SAVE. Enclose payment with this coupon, and publisher will pay all postage and handling charges. Same money-back guarantee. (New York City residents please add 15¢ sales tax.)

PRAISED BY DOCTORS, PSYCHIATRISTS, MARRIAGE COUNSELORS

Dr. Harold T. Hyman, author of *Treatment in Internal Medicine*: "Its wisdom and clarity should endear it to sophisticated married couples. Doctors will be grateful for this book. They have been looking for one like it for years."

Dr. Charles Aring, Chairman, Dept. of Neurology, College of Medicine, University of Cincinnati: "A thoughtful book particularly for persons striving to achieve a mature sexuality. There isn't a reticent or embarrassed word in it."

Dr. Martin Grotjahn, author of *Beyond Laughter:* This book was badly needed. It is a courageous attempt to liberate sexuality."

Sylvanus Milne Duvall, Ph.D. and Evelyn Millis Duvall, Ph.D.: Our copy will be kept in circulation among the married couples who come to us for help in learning to find happiness with each other."

Dr. Walter C. Alvarez: "Excellent. I haven't seen anything better. They have discussed things very frankly and in a dignified way."

Dr. Benjamin F. Miller, author of *The Complete Medical Guide*: "Fully as important for happily married couples as for those who are sexually maladjusted. Provides new information and deep insights which can help everyone enjoy a richer marital life."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED